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EROS AND THE LESBIAN PASTORALS OF LONGOS[1]

'DAPHNIS & Chloe: A most sweet & pleasant Pastoral Romance for Young ladies by George Thornley, Gent. . . . 1657.' The well-known title-page of the first English translation of Longos from the original[2] is characteristic of the attitude which has always prevailed towards this work. If we turn to the present day we find that the latest translator into English[3] writes in his introduction '*Daphnis and Chloe* was only meant to be "a source of pleasure for the human race", and might have been described by a second-century Graham Greene as an "entertainment"'. The intervening three centuries provide some acknowledgments of Longos' skill in individual departments—the description of nature, for example, or the management of plot—but taking the work as a whole scarcely any reader seems to have regarded it as more than an amorous triviality with a country setting; enjoyable in its pastoral descriptions; enjoyable in its amorous passages (or shocking, according to the taste of the reader); essentially trivial.[4]

It is my object to argue that this view, by taking account of only one side of the book, misrepresents it as a whole. Longos meant us to find in his work a serious import, as well as entertainment, and the way in which he realises this intention in all the details of the story makes of it a serious work of art.

Before offering an interpretation of these details I take my stand on Longos' own statement of his intention in the Prologue. The sentence already referred to by Turner to justify his interpretation reads in full, *τέτταρας βίβλους ἐξεπονησάμην, ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἔρωτι καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Πανί, κτῆμα δὲ τερπνὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις* (Pr. 2). The use of the particles *μέν . . . δέ . . .* means that the two functions of the book, as 'dedication' and as 'pleasant possession', are regarded as equally important; or, if slightly more weight be attached to the *δέ* component, the words *ἀνάθημα μέν* still remain valid.[5] I shall therefore make it my first task to elicit

[1] Based on a paper read to the Scottish Classical Association at St. Andrews, February 1958. I am very grateful to the late Professor A. W. Gomme and to Mr W. F. J. Knight for their encouragement and advice.

[2] Angel Daye's free version (1587) is based on Amyot's French translation.

[3] Paul Turner (Penguin Books 1956) 15. I have borrowed or adapted many of his renderings.

[4] Many of Longos' modern readers have been unable to achieve the *σωφροσύνη* which he himself prays for at the end of the Prologue (2), but have been bemused by the few chapters which some translators have seen fit to render in Latin, and so failed to judge the work as a whole. I suspect that Rohde's interpretation (*Der Griechische Roman* 1900/1914, discussed fully below, n. 110; still the most influential) is prejudiced by his having been shocked by Longos. He consequently goes to extremes in condemning his plot construction (usually praised), his style (rhetorical, but not 'sillier than that of almost any other late Greek rhetorician'), his formal conception and his sincerity (both of which I shall attempt to vindicate). Schissel (*RE* s.v. 'Longos') sees no other motive in Longos' choice of episodes than a desire to achieve *γλυκύτης*—at times of a disreputable kind. S. L. Wolff, *The Gk. Romance in Elizabethan Prose fiction* (Columbia 1912), despite a partial realisation of the importance of Eros, and of the Town as well as the Country in Longos, still passes the verdict 'the point of the story still remains in the piquancy of the children's experiments . . . heightened by the charm of their surroundings' (p. 130). Geo. Moore (*Translation with Introduction*, 1924) is impressed by the book's being 'of such voluptuous subject'. L. Castiglioni (*Rendiconti d. Real Ist. Lombard. d. Sc. e Lett.* Ser. 2.61 (1928) 203) speaks of the secondary importance of the events owing to 'la tenuità di materia'. A glance at the interpretations of artists and musicians will confirm an excessive preoccupation with the sensual. J. Lindsay's Appendix to his translation (London, 1948) is exceptional in the awareness it displays of some deeper meaning behind Longos' charm. P. Turner's insistence (*op. cit.*, 11, 15) on Longos' wit is a valuable corrective to the traditional view, whose most charitable judgment may be summed up in the words of the Rev. Roland Smith (introduction to translation, 1855): 'In reading the work of Longus we must remember that he was most probably a heathen or at any rate that he describes the heathen state of morals.'

[5] Denniston *GP*[2] 370. Types (i) (*μέν . . . δέ* ≡ *τε καί*) (ii) (greater weight on *δέ* clause). For the distinction of different kinds of narrative according

from the details of the story its serious import: and secondly I shall argue that this interpretation of the book as a 'dedication' affects the quality of our enjoyment of it as a 'delightful possession'.

A modern reader reared on Victorian Romantic novels might easily make the mistake of treating Longos' book as a simple love story,[6] where the hero and heroine are the beginning and the end of the matter. But this assumption makes irrelevant nonsense of a large part of Longos. The lovers and their pastoral life may be charming enough: but what happens in the world of men around them will seem largely a distraction; and the gods who intervene to control the events of the story through dreams or divine epiphanies, have been found absurd or improbable, the dreary figments of a miracle-mongering sophist. Some critics have been logical enough to point out that such a story lacks unity,[7] but no one seems to have observed that these difficulties all arise from the initial mistake of assuming Longos to be concerned first and last with the two young lovers Daphnis and Chloe.

In fact, however, the subject of the book is Eros. In the Prologue Longos describes how he came upon a picture in a grove of the Nymphs, and resolved to write a book 'the verbal equivalent of the picture' (Pr. 2 *ἀντιγράψαι τῇ γραφῇ*). The subject of the picture was Eros—*ἱστορίαν Ἔρωτος*.[8] Young lovers are indeed represented there, but they are unnamed, only one, and not the first item in a list of many other *ἐρωτικά*.[9]

At the beginning of Bk. ii Longos puts into the mouth of Philetas a lengthy description —the only direct one—of this god. 'Eros is a god greater than Zeus himself. He has power over the elements, he has power over the stars, he has power over his fellow gods—far more than you have over your goats and sheep. The flowers are the handiwork of Eros. These trees are his creation. It is because of him that rivers run and winds blow' (ii 7.1 *cf.* whole of ii 4–7). A short extract is sufficient to show what type of god we are dealing with; one which is paralleled in numerous syncretic monotheisms of the early centuries of our era; a competitor with the Great Mother in all her forms, with Mithras, and with many others, for the office of supreme controller of the cosmos. Such deities are in general developments from simple fertility gods, who have been given a mystic significance embodied in elaborate rituals and dogma, and whose worshippers require initiation into these mysteries. These characteristics of supremacy, fertility, mystery and initiation will all be found in the Eros of Longos as I shall now attempt to show.

That Eros is the supreme controller of the events in Longos has been pointed out by Wolff.[10] This distinguishes the plot of our work very sharply from that of the average Greek novel. There the writer goes out of his way to ascribe events to chance; but in Longos

to their intention see S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period*, Cambridge (1958) xiii–xiv.

[6] Especially as almost all translations call the work 'The Story of Daphnis and Chloe'. *Cf.* Thornley, Lowe, Lindsay, Turner. The title in the colophon reads *ποιμενικῶν τῶν περὶ Δ. καὶ Χ. Λεσβιακῶν λόγοι τέσσαρες*. Geo. Moore's 'Pastoral *Loves* of Daphnis and Chloe' is inaccurate. Turner (p. 14) wisely warns the reader against 'regarding the book as a crude attempt at a modern novel'. See also n. 91.

[7] For a full discussion of the question of unity (and especially Rohde's objections), see below pp. 48ff. Schissel (*RE*) represents the work as primarily a string of hardly related *τόποι*. *Cf.* Wolff (p. 199) 'No strict unity is to be expected of a writer who professes to offer only a succession of pictures.' F. A. Todd, *Some Ancient Novels* (1939), chap. ii 46 sees fit to excuse the divine interventions on the grounds that few readers would have 'felt that there was any inartistic violation of probability'.

[8] Pr. 1. Note also here *τύχην ἐρωτικήν*: in Pr. 2 *πάντα ἐρωτικά . . . ἀνάθημα Ἔρωτι . . . ὅ τὸν Ἐρασθέντα ἀναμνήσει, τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα παιδεύσει, πάντως γὰρ οὐδεὶς Ἔρωτα ἔφυγεν.*

[9] Pr. 1. *γυναῖκες . . . τίκτουσαι καὶ ἄλλαι σπαργάνοις κοσμοῦσαι, παίδια ἐκκείμενα, ποίμνια τρέφοντα, ποιμένες ἀναιρούμενοι, νέοι συντιθέμενοι, λῃστῶν καταδρομή, πολεμίων ἐμβολή.* These all, of course, figure in Longos.

[10] Wolff, 121–6. He also perceives the connexion of this with the painting in the prologue. *Cf.* Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*[2] 547 n. 1.

the story forms a consistent pattern of cause and effect taking its origin from Eros.[11] Where he does not intervene directly events are arranged by one of the subordinates expressly associated with him in the Prologue—the Nymphs, or Pan.[12] These, in fact, figure more obviously in the story than Eros, who is seldom directly mentioned himself. This too is characteristic of the supreme deity in contemporary philosophy and religion. God is the highest of many orders of being and acts through δαίμονες who convey his will to the humble sublunary level inhabited by man.[13] The daemonic agency of the Nymphs in our story is too obvious to require argument.[14] Pan is specifically introduced as a 'stage-manager' at ii 23, and the whole of the rest of this Book is devoted to him. Thereafter Daphnis and Chloe, previously unaware of Pan, honour him regularly.[15]

There is another god, Dionysos, whose name does not occur with the others in the Prologue but whose role is hardly less important than that of Eros himself. Dionysos is the only Olympian to receive more than ornamental mention:[16] significantly, for we are not here concerned with the Olympians, nor with the Dionysos who was received late and unwillingly into Olympos: but with the Dionysos who played a central part in Graeco-Oriental mystery religions—in particular in the Orphic-Dionysiac mysteries.

For it is, it seems, to an Orphic-Dionysiac context that we must look for the source of Longos' theology; primarily, indeed to a Dionysiac context, and I include the word 'Orphic' with some hesitation. It is obvious that Longos was no other-worldly ascetic. The god he is concerned with is Dionysos unreformed, though comparatively polite. But after many centuries Orphic terms had become familiar in Dionysiac contexts to more than the small body of strict Orphics, and Longos could use them where they suit his purpose without committing himself to Orphic doctrine proper.[17] That Dionysos, not Eros, was there thought of as the supreme god is not a difficulty. In the first place, although the name Dionysos may have been that primarily used to denote the supreme god, the religious thought of Longos' age had universalised god's nature far beyond the limits suggested by any one name. This god was *Διόνυσος πολυώνυμος* (Soph. *Ant.* 1115) *μυριόμορφος* (*AP* ix 524,13), addressed and worshipped in countless forms;[18] and amongst

[11] Eros instructs the foster parents to send Daphnis and Chloe out with the flocks, i 7: arranges the situation which results in their falling in love, i 11–13; manifests himself to Philetas, and says he makes it his daily task to bring them together, ii 4, 5; gives the final permission for their marriage, iv 34.1.

[12] Pr. 2. The formula is echoed at end of last book (iv 36 and 39). Divine control implied in such phrases as i 6 *θεῖον δὴ τὸ εὕρημα*: i 8 *προνοίᾳ θεῶν*: i 15 *Ἔδει καὶ Δάφνιν γνῶναι τὰ ἔργα Ἔρωτος*: ii 26 *οὐκ ἀθεεί*: ii 27.1 *Χλόην . . . παρθένον ἐξ ἧς Ἔρως μῦθον ποιῆσαι θέλει*: iv 24 *προνοίᾳ θεῶν* (recognition of Daphnis): iv 36 *προνοίᾳ θεῶν* (recognition of Chloe). At ii 10–11 they nearly *chance* on the consummation of love, but are prevented by the Methymnaean invasion: for with a chance conclusion the story would no longer have been an *ἀνάθημα* to Eros, representing his controlling power.

[13] *Cf.* T. R. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in Early Roman Empire*[3] 94 ff. For a brief account of Posidonius as the source of this idea, see A. H. Armstrong, *Architecture of the Universe in Plotinus* (1940) 53 and *Introduction to Anc. Philosophy* (1947) 143 ff. The unusualness of the *direct* manifestation of Eros at ii 4–7 justifies the weight I attach to this passage below, under *Final Autumn* and *Initiation*.

[14] The Picture is found in the grove of the *nymphs* (Pr. 1) and this grove is the setting of almost all Daphnis' and Chloe's meetings (*cf.* ii 2, iii 12); Chloe found in the grove (i 4); *Nymphs* present Daphnis and Chloe to Eros in dream (i 7): save Chloe from raiders (ii 20–3): grant money for Daphnis' wooing (iii 27): receive sacrifice of Daphnis' *ποιμενικὰ κτήματα* (iv 26): arrange the marriage (iv 34) which takes place at their shrine (iv 37).

[15] Pan (*λόγος πᾶν μηνύων* Pl. *Crat.* 408*b*) is identified with the Stoic Zeus, Orphic Phanes as 'All-God': see Wernicke in Roscher, s.v. 'Pan' 1405, 1467–8. Pan is the 'Hellenistic counterpart of Eros' (Wernicke, 1443–4; *cf.* 1456, 1464, 1469–70, 1472).

[16] iv 26 associates Dionysos formally with Pan and Nymphs. An Index Nominum will reveal that the Olympian gods are named almost exclusively in Bk. iv by the town dwellers, rather than by 'pastoral' characters. The few exceptions which occur elsewhere are literary allusions.

[17] For a view of the relationship between Orpheus and Dionysos, see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*[2] (London, 1952) 41–8.

[18] Macrob. *Sat.* i 18.2: Orpheus . . . ait . . . *ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο καλοῦσιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων. | πρῶτος δ' ἐς φάος ἦλθε, Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη | . . . ἀλλαχθεὶς δ' ὄνομ' ἔσχε προσωνυμίας πρὸς ἕκαστον | παντοδαπὰς κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμειβομένοιο χρόνοιο.*

these Eros occupied a position, based on the traditional Orphic cosmogony, of prime importance.[19] So that Longos would find ample justification for emphasising that aspect of the supreme god most congenial to his particular purpose. Secondly, Longos does represent the more usual position in the part which Dionysos plays in his story. At present we may observe that Dionysos is not, like Pan and the Nymphs, mentioned with Eros in the Prologue, because he is himself Eros. In the last Book, which is especially concerned with Dionysos, we find the same list of gods as in the Prologue, only with Dionysos taking Eros' place.[20] And later we shall discuss this role of Dionysos more fully (p. 45).

The conception used by Longos of Eros as a prime cosmic force was already known to Hesiod (*Theog.* 116–22), and there were temples dedicated to him at Thespiae, Leuctra and Parion.[21] But during the classical period this Eros goes 'underground'. He is subordinated to Aphrodite as far as the main stream of literature and art are concerned, and emerges only occasionally in the lyric poets and Attic drama.[22] For our purpose it is unnecessary to discuss what relationship all of these passages may have with Orphism; but we shall be concerned with the lines in Aristophanes (*Av.* 692–702) where, with some additions, the Hesiodic Birth of Eros is repeated with a generally admitted Orphic reference.[23] The Eros of the Orphic cosmogony was evidently a development of the Cosmic Eros of Hesiod and the cults mentioned; as one might perhaps see in the case of Phlya, where Eros was worshipped with other fertility gods, and where hymns accompanying ritual were sung in his honour by the Lykomids who controlled the Orphic mysteries.[24] In later Greek and Roman times this Eros is still more thoroughly obscured by the putto of elegy and anacreontic. But occasionally the putto claims connexion with his cosmic predecessor;[25] and in Longos we find him telling Philetas *οὗτοι παῖς ἐγώ, καὶ εἰ δοκῶ παῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Κρόνου πρεσβύτερος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παντός* (ii 5: he is like the Eros of Xen. *Symp.* 8.1). Despite his Hellenistic exterior Eros in Longos is the Orphic Protogonos who 'in the beginning sprang gleaming, golden-winged from the wind-born egg that black-winged Night brought forth in the bosom of Erebos' (Ar. *Av.* 694) and himself begot Kronos and the Olympians.[26]

If this identification of Longos' theology be correct, we can see why in the Prologue

[19] Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Gk. Religion*, ch. xii, discusses the evidence for Eros in Orphism. This establishes Eros' position as an Orphic god, even if it is not necessary to go so far as she does in elevating the significance of Eros. Cf. *inter alia* Orph. *Arg.* 14–16 (*Ἔρως = Φάνης*): Orph. *fr.* Lobeck, p. 495, Abel *fr.* 123 l. 11, Kern *fr.* 168 l. 9 (*Ἔρως = Μῆτις*): Orph. *Hym.* 1 ii 10 (*Ἔρως = Διόνυσος*): Orph. *fr.* Kern 167 ap. Procl. in Parm. 130*b* (*Ἔρως* and *τὰ στοιχεῖα* born of *δημιοῦργος* after *Φάνητος κατάποσις*, with which *cf.* Longos' language at ii 7.2–3).

[20] iv 26. *Cf.* iv 13—Eros' place taken by Demeter (only here) and Dionysos. This is to be explained as referring to the action of city dwellers, *cf.* n. 16.

[21] Thespiae, Paus. ix 27.1, 31.3. Leuctra (cult founded by Boeotians), Paus. iii 26.5. Parion, Paus. ix 27.1.

[22] The evidence is collected by Furtwängler in Roscher s.v. 'Eros'. *Cf.* also Harrison, ch. xii.

[23] *Cf.* authorities cited by B. B. Rogers, *not. ad loc.*; Kern *Orphica fr.* 1. Aristoph. also parodies Orphism, then well known in Athens, in *Nub.* 250 (*cf.* Dieterich in *Rhein. Mus.* 1893. 275) and *Ran.* 145–459. *Cf.* Guthrie *Orpheus* General Index s.v. 'Aristophanes'.

[24] Worship at Phlya of Dionysos Anthios, Ismenian Nymphs and Ge, Paus. i 31.4. Lykomids sing hymn to Eros *ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις*, Paus. ix 27.2. Lykomids *ἴσασί τε καὶ ἐπᾴδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις* (sc. *τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους*) Paus. ix 30.12. The Lykomids officiated at Phlya (Paus. iv 1.5 ff., *cf.* Harrison, 644).

[25] E.g. Luc. *Am.* 32. *σύ δαῖμον οὐράνιε . . . ἱεροφάντα μυστηρίων Ἔρως, οὐ κακὸν νήπιον ὁποῖον ζωγράφων παίζουσι χεῖρες ἀλλ' ὃν ἡ πρωτόσπορος ἐγέννησεν ἀρχή κ.τ.λ. Am.* 37. *ἕτερος δὲ Ἔρως Ὠγυγίων πατὴρ χρόνων. Cf.* the group of Epigrams, *A.Pl.* xvi 200–2, 207, 214–15, also *AP* xv 24 (Simmias' *Ἔρωτος πτέρυγες*). It is worth comparing the 'Amor rure natus', origin of fertility and music, in *Pervig. Veneris* 78–88. Venus is here the principal cosmic power, but in the whole poem she offers a close parallel to Longos' Eros, in power, and in ritual (*cf.* especially Proem. 2 with *Pervig. Ven.* refrain).

[26] The Orphic Eros is also *Κρόνου πρεσβύτερος* (*cf.* Orph. *Arg.* 424 *πρεσβύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα*; Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.26. For Eros represented as *πρεσβύτης* on the wall of the Telesterion at Phlya see Harrison's suggested interpretation of *Philosophoumena* v 3 (p. 645).

it was necessary for Longos to call upon an ἐξηγητής to interpret the picture of Eros.[27] He required instruction in a mystery and in his turn proposes to instruct us. His work might almost be called a handbook since he proposes that it shall 'cure him that is sick, it will cheer him that is depressed, him that has loved it will remind, and him that has not it will instruct' (Pr. 2). But Longos is not in fact writing a discursive religious handbook. We shall find Dionysiac beliefs and rituals, but not baldly tabulated. As a μυσταγωγός Longos states them allusively. As a writer he uses them as raw material for his dramatic themes, and as the basis and framework of his structure.

I therefore propose next to interpret certain of Longos' individual themes and situations from this point of view; then to show that the book is constructed on a number of frameworks, all expressive of the nature of Eros and his worship—a framework of seasons, the embodiment of a fertility god; a framework of the progress and experiences of human lovers, expressive of his nature from man's standpoint; and a framework of initiation leading from innocence to recognition and acceptance by the god.

The proper function of Longos' plentiful descriptions of animals and birds, rocks, rivers, springs and caves, trees and plants is not merely to provide a picturesque background for a love-story, though they may strike the superficial reader as being no more. These things are, rather, descriptions of Eros himself.[28] All natural things are embodiments of a universal nature god, and the unity of all creation, for which Euripides' description (*Bacch.* especially 723–68) is a *locus classicus*, was a commonplace of Orphic belief. There 'the divine powers . . . have', as Rohde says, 'absorbed the whole universe into themselves in order to bring it forth anew, animated with one spirit, and, with all its infinite variety, a unity'.[29] The attempt to interpret the details of Longos symbolically is therefore legitimate. But it must be pursued with caution. Nothing is easier than to find an esoteric significance in the names of plants or animals where none was intended by a writer; since every other living thing had divine significance for somebody in antiquity. And nothing kills art like ruthless allegorising. So I shall confine myself to discussing a few themes which Longos used with a consistently symbolical significance.

The one epiphany of Eros takes place in a Garden (ii 3 ff.) where he has come to enjoy the plants, and where he bathes in the spring. διὰ τοῦτο καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ φυτά, he says, τοῖς ἐμοῖς λουτροῖς ἀρδόμενα (ii 5). In the Prologue, too, in the grove of the Nymphs, μία πηγὴ πάντα ἔτρεφε καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ δένδρα (Pr. 1). This fountain is evidently the fertility god himself, whom we see portrayed on a red-figured vase in Athens watering plants from a hydria in company with two nymphs and Dionysos.[30]

There are other visitors to the garden of Philetas. ὀρνίθων ἀγέλαι συνέρχονται τὸ ἑωθινόν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τροφήν, τῶν δὲ ἐς ᾠδήν (ii 3): and the winged Eros who sprang from the Egg has a close affinity to birds. In Ar. *Av.* 699 birds were his first children. In Longos we are told τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπτεροῖ (*cf.* *LSJ* s.v. ἀναπτερόω. 2), an idea which was first fully exploited in Plato (*Phaedrus* 246c–249e), and elaborated in late religion and philosophy.[31] In

[27] ἀναζητησάμενος ἐξηγητὴν τῆς εἰκόνος (Pr. 2). For ἐξηγητής as interpreter of sacred rites, etc., see *LSJ* s.v. ἐξηγητής II.

[28] *Cf.* ii 7 τὰ ἄνθη πάντα Ἔρωτος ἔργα· τὰ φυτὰ ταῦτα τούτου ποιήματα . . . ποταμοί . . . ἄνεμοι . . . ταῦρον ἐρασθέντα καὶ τράγον φιλήσαντα. Belief in *Winds* as fertilising agents (*cf.* Guthrie *Orpheus*[2] 94, 144 n. 17) also lends significance to i 4 πόας ὑπὸ τῆς νοτίδος τρεφομένης: iii 12 ὁ ζέφυρος τρέφων: i 23 (see my comment, under *First Summer*).

[29] E. Rohde *Psyche*[8] (tr. Hillis) chap. x 'The Orphics' 339.

[30] Athens NM 1852, reproduced in Harrison 636, fig. 172, and *Hesp.* Suppl. viii pl. 5.2, where M. Bieber (p. 31) discusses this and other fourth-century vases depicting Eros and Dionysos. *Cf.* also *A.Pl.* xvi 14 Eros by a fountain. In *A.Pl.* xvi 202 Eros is 'born of a nymph, country-bred, the helper of the husbandman, who is crowned by the four Horae'.

[31] Most obviously in Apuleius' *Cupid and Pysche* (*Met.* iv 28 ff.). Also when Lucius became 'the ass who bore the mysteries' (Ar. *Ran.* 159) he had intended to become a bird, as Pamphile did become, for erotic purposes (*Met.* iii 21, 25). Apul. like Longos is aware of different levels of the same Eros. For archaeological evidence for mystic allegories of

Philetas' eyes the apparition in his garden resembled a bird;[32] and Daphnis and Chloe in innocent perplexity ask *τί ἐστί ποτε Ἔρως, πότερα παῖς ἢ ὄρνις*; (ii 7). For this reason bird-song characterises the birth of the new year (i 9, iii 12); and when Daphnis goes bird-catching in winter it is really his pretext for catching his love, Chloe.[33] The device succeeded. The two lovers met, and together *ἐθήρων πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ὀρνίθων. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλημάτων ἀπόλαυσις συνεχής* (iii 10). In the conversation which accompanied this, Daphnis tells Chloe *διά σε ἦλθον · διά σε ἀπολλύω τοὺς ἀθλίους κοψικούς*.[34]

It is the song of birds which is remarked on in many of these passages; and *music* was commonly a symbol of the ordering of the universe. It was the characteristic activity of Orpheus himself, and representations of Eros as a musician are plentiful in literature and art. Such, it has been suggested, is the significance of the Dionysiac title *Πρωτευρυθμός*.[35] In Longos the role of musician is delegated chiefly to Pan and the Nymphs[36] and in their dancing, singing and piping Daphnis and Chloe are likened to these gods. The principal musical occasion, at the end of Bk. ii, is in honour of Pan, when Daphnis and Chloe begin their worship of the god by miming the legend just narrated by Lamon, of Pan and Syrinx (ii 37). Philetas pays essentially the same honour to the god by playing on his *σύριγξ* and *εἴκασεν ἄν τις εἶναι ταύτην ἐκείνην ἣν ὁ Πὰν πρώτην ἐπήξατο*. We already know the importance of Philetas as the only witness to the epiphany of Eros (ii 4–7) and the expounder of this mystery to Daphnis and Chloe; and when Philetas presents this almost divine *σύριγξ* to Daphnis (ii 37), who had previously asked him *μεταδοῦναι τῆς τέχνης* (ii 33.1), this is the gift of the man most favoured of Eros in his generation to his successor, the gift of the music of Eros.[37] The gift confers the possession of *εὐνομία μουσική*—an intentional *double entendre* on the part of Longos (ii 36). With this pipe Daphnis conveys detailed instructions to his flock, instilling *εὐνομία* in it as well.[38] He had already begun to instruct his goats in the different pastoral modes before being given the pipe of Philetas,[39] and in so doing was playing the part of Pan who imposes his will on flocks and men according to the manner of his piping.[40]

To return to the Garden: many flowers and trees grew there, as elsewhere in Longos' countryside. For most of them one probably could find a symbolic connotation suitable

Psyche see Collignon *Essai sur les monuments Gr. et Rom. relatif au mythe de Psyche* (Paris, 1877), with bibliography in E. H. Haight, *Apuleius* (1927) 187–90. On the World-Egg see Guthrie *Orpheus* 92 ff.

[32] ii 4. *ὥσπερ πέρδικος νεοττός*: ii 6 *καθάπερ ἀηδόνος νεοττός*. He is *δυσθήρατος καὶ ἱέρακι καὶ ἀετῷ* (ii 5). Philetas' *ἐγκώμιον Ἔρωτος* begins *θεός ἐστι νέος καὶ καλὸς καὶ πετόμενος*. (ii 7.1) *Cf. Pervig Ven.* 3, *Amores: alites.*

[33] iii 4.11. Note *τούτων τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπὶ προφάσει θήρας* (5); *ἐκαθέζετο τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ὄρνιθας καὶ τὴν Χλόην περιμενῶν* (6.1).

[34] *Cf.* Meleager, *A.Pl.* v 96. *Ἴξον ἔχεις τὸ φίλημα . . . ἦν δὲ θίγῃς δέδεκας.*

[35] The title occurs in the Athenian Iobacchic inscriptions (Wide *AM* xix (1894) 248): the suggestion is Harrison's, 656–7. The evidence for Eros as musician is listed in Roscher, s.v. 'Eros' 1350. For music as a symbol of *κοσμός*, *cf.* Strabo x 3.10; Luc. *Salt.* 7 *ὄρχησιν ἀναφῦναι τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκείνῳ Ἔρωτι ἀναφανεῖσαν. ἡ γοῦν χορεία τῶν ἀστέρων . . . τῆς πρωτογόνου ὀρχήσεως δείγματά ἐστι.* For the music of Pan as that of the spheres, see Roscher s.v. 'Pan' 1468 (Wernicke).

[36] The nymphs, whose statues represent them dancing (i 4), are *πᾶσαι μουσικαί* (iii 23).

[37] *μουσικὴ τέχνη* = *ἐρωτικὴ τέχνη* (*cf.* n. 119 for *τέχνη*); and *συρίττειν*, like bird-catching, is love: *cf.* especially ii 24. For Philetas as Daphnis' predecessor in representing Eros, *cf.* Philetas' opening words (ii 3) and the story of his youth (ii 5), and (ii 37) *τὴν σύριγγα χαρίζεται καὶ εὔχεται καὶ Δάφνιν καταλιπεῖν αὐτὴν ὁμοίῳ διαδόχῳ*. Ph. does this in admiration of Daphnis' representation on the *σύριγξ* of a story of Eros. *Cf.* also the list of 'erotic' modes played by Daphnis (37.2) with the 'pastoral' modes played by Philetas (35.2) and Daphnis (iv 15). For music in Orphic initiation *cf.* Arist. Quint. *de Musica* 3, p. 158 (Meib.).

[38] iv 14 *πεποίηκε δ'αὐτὰς καὶ μουσικάς · σύριγγος γοῦν ἀκούουσαι ποιοῦσι πάντα*, and iv 15 *passim.*

[39] i 10 *συρίζειν ἐμελέτα* having made his first pipe: i 13 his flocks already attentive to the sound: i 22 frightened flocks soothed by pipe: i 32 elated when Daphnis returns and pipes. Similarly the cattle of Phassa (i 27) and Dorkon (i 29) are trained to obey the *σύριγξ*.

[40] E.g. ii 29, 30. *τὰ συρίσματα ἀμφότερα τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸ εἰρηνικόν*, *cf.* also n. 15 and p. 47 for the different aspects of Eros–Pan.

to the context:[41] for some at least the most cautious interpreter would scarcely deny that Longos intended us to do this. Eros was first seen by Philetas *ὑπὸ ταῖς ῥοιαῖς καὶ ταῖς μυρρίναις μύρτα καὶ ῥοιὰς ἔχων* (ii 4.1); he pelted Philetas with myrtle berries (4.2); and disappeared from sight under the myrtle leaves (ii 6).[42] Myrtle groves are the haunts of the initiate in Ar. *Ran.* (156–8),[43] and a myrtle garland was worn by Iacchos at the mysteries (Ar. *Ran.* 330, *cf.* Schol. R). Is it an accident that Daphnis caught the winter birds as they fed on the berries of two myrtle trees and an ivy (again sacred to Dionysos) which Longos describes with an elaboration designed to attract attention?[44] He caught the attention at least of Dalmeyda, who points out the similarity of this description to that of the Garden of Philetas;[45] and we may add that it is equally reminiscent of the description of the ivy and vine supported on fruit trees in another important garden, the Garden of Lamon and Daphnis, which was the precinct of the temple of Dionysos[46] (iv 2–4).

Another modern reader has been impressed by the frequent mention of the Pine.[47] The reason is its association with Pan (the story of Pan and Pitys is referred to explicitly and by implication);[48] or, in terms of Longos' Erotic mystery, because it was used as a part of Dionysiac ritual. And when Chloe wears a crown of pine twigs and a fawn-skin she is herself playing the initiate.[49]

If to the sceptical the allegorical interpretation of individual creatures or activities seem an arbitrary imposition on Longos, we may now turn to observe that another embodiment of the Cosmic Eros prescribes the very structure of the plot. If the natural world embodies Eros in Space, in Time he is embodied in the movement of the events which make up the story.

The framework provided by the *Seasons* is obvious to the most cursory reader. The story occupies most of two years: Bk. i carries us through spring and summer to autumn; Bk. iii presents winter, a second spring and summer; Bk. iv the ultimately fruitful autumn.

Some critics have also recognised that there is the closest correspondence between this cycle and the purely *erotic experiences* of Daphnis and Chloe.[50] The reason for this will emerge from the hypothesis we are now exploring: it is that Daphnis and Chloe are part—in this story the most important single part—of the natural world which embodies Eros. They are at once themselves and more than themselves. They are the Year god, and their experiences are his annual ravishing, death or imprisonment, and re-birth.

Finally, interwoven with these two corresponding cycles, there is a third which has not been recognised. The *events and episodes* which make up the rest of the story—dreams,

[41] Fertility symbolism will readily occur in connexion with apples, figs, pomegranates (*cf.* Schol. Luc. 280.20 Rabe (Kern *Orphica*, test. 218): list of Orphic *ἀπειρημένα* headed by *ῥοιαί, μῆλα*). The rose is Love's flower. Daphnis' and Chloe's regular meeting-place was an oak i 12.2, i 13.2 (*τῇ συνήθει*), ii 11, 30, 38.2, iii 12, 16. Also Philetas' (ii 5). *Dryads* (ii 23.1) are beloved of Pan (ii 39.2). Daphnis was found in a *δρυμός* (i 2); Chloe's father named *Δρύας* (i 4).

[42] G. Valley (*Über den Sprachgebrauch des Longos* (Uppsala, 1926) ch. vi) suggests that Longos' description of the garden of Philetas is based on that of the garden of Alkinoos (Hom. *Od.* vii 112 ff.). The fruits mentioned are identical except that Longos has *ἀχράς* for Homer's *ὄγχνη* and, for *ἐλαῖαι, μύρτα*. At iv 3 Philetas swears *κατὰ τῶν μύρτων*.

[43] Also in *Pervig. Ven.* 28 (*cf.* ll. 6, 44 myrtle arbours) *Μυρτάλη* was Daphnis' mother (i 3). Note also significance of *μύρρινον, μύρτον* Ar. *Eq.* 964, *Lys.* 1004.

[44] iii 5. Note the ivy clusters are *μέγας ὡς βότρυς*.

[45] G. Dalmeyda, 'Longus et Alciphron' in *Mélanges Glotz* (1932) i 277–8, 284 n. 3.

[46] This garden discussed p. 46. *Ivy* grew over the dell where Daphnis was found (i 2), the only plant mentioned here: it also sprouted from the horns of his goats (ii 26).

[47] H. Reich, *De Alciphronis Longique aetate* (1894) 53.

[48] Explicitly i 29, ii 7, 39. Implied i 23, iii 24 (*cf.* my comment p. 40). *Cf.* ii 23, 31, iii 12, iv 8, 39.

[49] i 23. So too Phassa, i 27. On such *κατάζωσις* see F. Cumont, *AJA* xxxvii (1933) 256. Pine in initiation, see F. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le paganisme Romain* (1929) 201–2 with fig. 13 and pl. 16.

[50] E.g. Castiglioni, 204. Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*[2] 544 recognises a correspondence of the seasons with man's life and labour, in general, but not with Daphnis' and Chloe's love in this book.

battles, pastoral occupations and festivities, mythological anecdotes, and the rest—have been regarded as, at best, a foil to set off the pastoral love-story; at worst, an irrelevant and distracting excuse for the display of rhetoric.[51] But they too are an integral part of the total description of Eros, just as they made up the details of the picture of Eros (Pr. 1).

In offering the following analysis, I cannot hope to bring out the most intricate relationships of the three components—seasons, lovers' experiences and events—but I aim at demonstrating their complete integration within the fundamental framework of the seasons. Together they form the basic pattern of Longos' narrative. He commonly states them in the order

(*a*) Description of season
(*b*) Reactions of lovers
(*c*) Events and episodes arising from it;

although naturally he does not adhere to the pattern with monotonous regularity, and in the cases of the two autumns, each of which occupies a Book or more, he complicates the pattern, or (in the case of the second) abandons it almost entirely.

First Spring. (*a*) *Description of Season.* i 9 ἦρος ἀρχή described. The selection of living things in this passage is not fortuitous. The connexion of bird-song and flowers with Eros has been discussed, and his particular connexion with flocks is explained later. The traditional connexion of bees and flies with Love probably accounts for Longos' fairly frequent allusions to them in this Book. Thus: μέλιττα i 9 characteristic of spring and imitated by lovers; i 14 Chloe compares pangs of love with bee-stings; i 18 so too Daphnis of Chloe's kiss (*cf.* i 17 ὥσπερ οὐ φιληθεὶς ἀλλὰ δηχθείς suggests the οἶστρος).[52] οἶστρος may connote any passion (*LSJ* s.v. οἶστρος II), but love, like that of Io, is clearly alluded to at i 13 (βοὸς οἴστρῳ πλαγείσης); *cf.* ii 7 ταῦρον ἐρασθέντα καὶ ὡς οἴστρῳ πληγεὶς ἐμύκατο. At i 17 Chloe compared by her lover to a βοῦς. At i 23 μυῖαι pester Chloe as she makes cheese.[53]

(*b*) *Reaction of Daphnis and Chloe*, i 9–10. They play together. It is important that in doing so they are said to be μιμηταί of nature.

(*c*) *Events* (1) i 11–13. Eros devises the situation which becomes Ἔρωτος ἀρχή. Daphnis falling into a wolf-trap is muddied and washes in the spring of the Nymphs. We have noted the Erotic properties of the spring. It makes Chloe aware of Daphnis' beauty, and the impression is strengthened by another revelation of Eros, the sight of Daphnis playing the σύριγξ. Her praise of him is ἔρωτος ἀρχή[54] (the closing words of the incident echo the opening of i 9 ἦρος ἦν ἀρχή).

(2) The *kiss* which Chloe gives as a prize in a 'love contest' between Daphnis and Dorkon is an equally potent instrument of Eros in its effect on Daphnis.[55]

The soliloquies of the two lovers (i 14, 18) together with the instruction of Philetas

[51] My object is to deny not that Longos uses the τόποι of the schools (that he does so is clear, *cf.* Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*[2] on Longos, and Part iii (Gr. Soph.) sect. 4; Schissel, *RE*, *loc. cit.*) but that he does so indiscriminately and irrelevantly. The same could be argued, against Rohde, of his style. For objections of lack of unity, *cf.* n. 7 and p. 33. J. C. Dunlop (*History of Fiction*, 1814, ch. i) points to the effect of the opposition between dramatic excitement and pastoral calm. This is true so far as it goes, but does not guard against such an objection as that of Rohde (see n. 110) who sees in just this opposition an inevitable cause of lack of unity.

[52] See *LSJ* for μέλισσα as name of poets, priestesses and neophytes (s.v. μέλισσα II). The bee in religious belief, especially connected with Aphrodite, Harrison, 444.

[53] Not an appealing touch of realism (Turner, 14): 'natural' flies are δειναὶ λυπῆσαι, but would not δακεῖν εἰ διώκοιντο. In the Delphic Paean to Dionysos the god is invoked ἐνθέοις ‹σὺν οἴσ› τροις (Weil *BCH* xix 403). Cf. *A.Pl.* xvi 196 Ἔρωτα τὸν οἴστρῳ κνυμήναντα θεοῖς: *Orph. Hym.* xi (to Pan) 23 Πανικὸν ἐκπέμπων οἶστρον.

[54] *Cf.* n. 119.

[55] The kiss is important: ii 7, it is the first of the three precepts of Philetas: i 17, its effect on Daphnis (*cf.* i 22): i 29–30, Dorkon's kiss (see n. 105) is similar to that at ii 2—both are potential causes of ἔρωτος λύπη (*cf.* n. 96): ii 18, 30.1, its curative properties.

(ii 4 ff.) form the principal direct descriptions of Eros; and the language here is designed to concentrate attention from the outset on the god's unique character.[56] Other direct references to Eros, his name and deeds, and the inexperience of Daphnis and Chloe, are especially plentiful in this passage, and will be discussed later under *Initiation*.[57]

(3) i 19–22. Dorkon's attempts to woo, then to ravish Chloe are premature—in spring-time. She is not to be won until an autumn season, when of the country guests at her wedding *ὁ μὲν ᾔδεν οἷα ᾄδουσι θερίζοντες, ὁ δὲ ἔσκωπτε τὰ ἐπὶ ληνοῖς σκώμματα* (iv 38); and *ἐπεὶ πλήσιον ἦσαν τῶν θυρῶν* (*sc. τοῦ θαλάμου*) *ᾔδον . . . καθάπερ τριαίναις ἀναρρηγνύντες οὐχ ὑμέναιον ᾄδοντες* (iv 40).[58]

First Summer. (*a*) *Description.* Summer inflames all natural things with love, including (*b*) *Daphnis and Chloe.* Description and reaction interwoven emphasise the unity of lovers and nature (i 23).

The words *ἐξέκαε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους* (*cf.* i 11.1 *Ἔρως ἐνέκαυσε*) exemplify a play of ideas between Eros and Helios (the god's visible counterpart)[59] regular in Longos, especially with the words *καίω* and *θερμός*. That the word play represents an intentional play of ideas is strikingly shown in the dialogue at iii 10. *Cf.* also ii 12 (sun), 13 (*ἔρως*).

The natural objects in i 23, themselves significant of Eros, are all described as acting at the impulse of Eros. Apples fall to the ground *ἐρῶντα* and the sun is *φιλόκαλον*. The mixture of allusions to Pitys and Syrinx in *τοὺς ἀνέμους συρίττειν ταῖς πίτυσιν ἐμπνέοντας* is typical of Longos.[60]

(*c*) *Events.* Amorous games and stories, especially *τέττιξ* and *χελιδών* episode (i 26) and *φάσσα* legend (i 27). The superficial relevance of both *τέττιξ* and *φάσσα* as love gifts is familiar.[61]

The *φάσσα* legend is one of three legends in Longos and fulfils a function and a position, near the end of Bk. i, analogous to that of the Pan-Syrinx legend at ii 37 and the Echo legend at iii 23. All have a significance proper to their own context; the *φάσσα* legend perhaps least obviously so; but it can be interpreted as an appropriate comment on the stage reached by the love story. We notice that the maiden Phassa both is *musical* and becomes a *bird*; that crowned with Pine she sang the story of Pan and Pitys. That is, she evidently corresponds to Chloe as a representative of Eros, and her story represents the stage reached in the development of Chloe's love. This has not yet reached the extreme stage represented in the violent love-legend of Echo (second summer). The metamorphosis of Phassa was not because of love. But it was a youth—*καὶ αὐτὸς καλὸς καὶ ᾠδικός*—who caused her sadness by his superior skill in *Music*.[62]

[56] The paradoxes here are designed to represent Eros as different in his effect from (secondary) natural causes. The physical effects are consequently unique and unexpected.

[57] The refs. are i 13.3, 15.1, 15.4, 17.1, 19.1.

[58] Note that when Dorkon proposed to her father, he was setting his vines (i 19). He was threshing his grain when asked by the successful Daphnis (iii 29).

[59] Macrob. *Sat.* i 23.22. *Solem esse omnia et Orpheus testatur in his versibus . . .* *"Ηλιε παγγενέτωρ παναίολε χρυσεόφεγγες.* See further Lobeck 497–8, Kern *fr.* 236–7, Plut. *Am.* 19, Kern *frr.* 86, 96.

[60] The words are adapted from Theocr. i 1 (Rohde *Gr. Rom.*[2] 534 n. 1): but the implication of the words *συρίττειν, ἐμπνέοντας*, which are not in Theocritus, is Longos' own and typical of his constructive use of his sources. *Cf.* also iii 24 *ὁ μὲν* (sc. *Δάφνις*) *ἐσύριττεν ἀμιλλώμενος πρὸς τὰς πίτυς.* *Ἐμπνεῖν* is regular of the *συριστής* (i 24, ii 33, 35). For rivers and winds *cf.* n. 28; Pine, nn. 47–9; Apples, *cf.* my comments on iii 33–4, under *Second Summer*.

[61] D'Arcy Thompson, *Greek Birds*, s.v. *φάσσα*. For *τέττιξ* connected with Eros *cf.* Boettiger *Kleine Schriften* ii pl. 7.1 (gem showing Eros with moon (?), sun and torch, in chariot drawn by *τέττιγες*).

[62] It seems just possible that Longos' choice of *φάσσα* in particular is based on ritual practice. Porphyry *Abst.* 416 says that *οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεολογῶν* derive the name *Φερέφασσα . . . παρὰ τὸ φέρβειν τὴν φάτταν· ἱερὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ φάττα. δι'ὃ καὶ αἱ τῆς Μαίας ἱέρειαι ταύτην αὐτῇ ἀνατιθέασι.*

Persephone was the mother of Dionysos-Zagreus *κύει καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον* (Clem. *Protrep.* ii 16): and Dionysos is about to appear in the chapter following the *φάσσα* legend (i 29 see my interpretation below p. 46). Although not part of my present thesis it may be of interest to note that the folk story used by Longos, with its eight

First Autumn. (*a*) *Description* (ii 1) of vintage at which Daphnis and Chloe assist. i 28, Autumn announced.

(*c*) *Events.* As autumn carries off the fruits of summer, Daphnis and Chloe's summer love is ended through their being carried off (1 and 3).

(1) By pirates (i 28–32. Daphnis).

(2) Philetas announces the epiphany of Eros (ii 4–8). Autumn, the fulfilment of the year, is the proper season for the revelation of himself by the Year god. The point is fully discussed below under *Final Autumn.* See also on *Dionysos*, p. 45.

(3) Chloe carried off by raiding soldiers (ii 20–30).

(*b*) *Reactions of Daphnis and Chloe.* Developments in the growth of love are here provoked by the events rather than by the season directly. (Thus (*b*1) arises from (*c*1) and so on.) The variation is justified because the events represent the season:

(1) Love attacking the heart of Daphnis more fiercely is a pirate raid. ἐνόμιζε τὴν ψυχὴν ἔτι παρὰ τοῖς λῃσταῖς μένειν, οἷα . . . ἔτι ἀγνοῶν τὸ Ἔρωτος λῃστήριον (i 32).[63]

(2) The revelation of Philetas inspires them with frenzy and greater boldness in love. (ii 8 τὰς ψυχὰς συνεστάλησαν ὑπὸ λύττης. *Cf.* ii 9.1.)

(3) Saved by Pan from the raiders they play the part, overtly erotic by this stage, in the presence of their families, of lovers, in miming the legend of Pan and Syrinx (ii 37): and by themselves they swear by Pan and their goats perpetual fidelity (ii 39).

Winter. (*a*) *Description* at iii 3–4.

(*b*) For *Daphnis and Chloe* this is the winter of their love,[64] and as when they were carried off in autumn they were playing the role of the Year god, so here τὴν ἠρινὴν ὥραν ἀνέμενον ἐκ θανάτου παλιγγενεσίαν (iii 4).

(*c*) *Events* (1) iii 4–8. Daphnis devises the plan of bird-catching as a means of meeting Chloe (discussed p. 37; *cf.* p. 47 on *hunting*).

(2) iii 9–11. With Chloe's family he celebrates the winter *Dionysia.* This was the festival which celebrated, at the winter solstice, the promise of the resurrection of the year: just as Eros, in allowing this temporary reunion, kept alive the lovers' hopes—ὥσπερ αὐτὸν (*sc.* Δάφνιν) οἰκτείραντος τοῦ Ἔρωτος[65] (iii 6).

Second Spring iii 12–13. (*a*) *Description.* (*b*) *Daphnis' and Chloe's* return to pasturing is a return to their service of Eros, the Nymphs and Pan, and their love is renewed with the renewal of the flowers and of the song of birds (iii 14). In particular Daphnis is inspired by the example of sheep and goats to love.

(*c*) *Events* (1) iii 15–20. But he is ἀμαθέστερος εἰς τὰ Ἔρωτος ἔργα (iii 14) and Lykainion provides him with practical instruction. The effect on Daphnis is only to make him hesitate from ravishing the purity of Chloe.[66] But

(2) (iii 21–3) the legend of Echo, another musical maiden, favourite of the Nymphs and

cows, is reminiscent of our own nursery explanation of the wood-pigeon's call: 'Take two cows, Taffy'; and equally of a legend quoted by J. Fisher in *British Birds*, xlvi, 1953 (a reference I owe to the kindness of Professor M. F. M. Meiklejohn) on the Collared Dove, *streptopelia decaocto.* There a maid-servant was turned into a dove for sorrow at being paid no more than eighteen pieces a year. This fact the bird still proclaims (hence its scientific name). *Cf.* Longos, i 27 ἔτι νῦν ᾄδουσα μηνύει τὴν συμφοράν, ὅτι βοῦς ζητεῖ πεπλανημένας. Longos' source might have explained the call as ποῦ 'μοῦ βοῦς ὀκτώ! (*Cf.* Aristoph. *fr.* 760 for the contraction βόες-βοῦς.)

[63] For Love as Pirate cf. *A.Pl.* v 309 τρὶς λῃστὴς ὁ Ἔρως: v 161 τὰ λῃστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. Love is traditionally associated with the sea which figures largely in Longos: cf. *A.Pl.* xvi 207 οὐδὲ μάτην παλάμαις κατέχει δελφῖνα καὶ ἄνθος | τῇ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν τῇ δὲ θάλασσαν ἔχει. *Cf.* also Luc. *Dem. Enc.* 13 for the distinction of Ἔρως θαλάττιος and Ἐ. οὐράνιος. Note the use by Longos of διώκω both in *piratical* contexts: i 32 also erotic), ii 20: and *erotic*: ii 5, ii 34, iii 13–14. The Methymnaean raid is tantamount to an act of piracy both in its symbolical function and in the eyes of Longos' characters (iii 2.1; *cf.* ii 19 πολεμὸν ἀκήρυκτον).

[64] Just as it is the cessation of the music of σύριγξ and bird (*cf.* iii 12 ἐκ μακρᾶς σιωπῆς).

[65] The direct mention of Ἔρως is sufficiently rare to attract attention in Longos.

[66] The childish innocence of Chloe is emphasised at 20.2 in sharp contrast to what precedes.

Muses, and beloved of Pan, who met her Zagreus-like end[67] *φιλοῦσα τὴν παρθενίαν*, reminds us that with Eros, as in Belloc's *William Shand*, 'The moral is that mortals must . . . obey or bu'st'. Compare 'Phassa' (*First Summer*) and 'Pan-Syrinx' (*First Autumn*).

Second Summer iii 24. (*a*) *Description.* (*b*) *Reactions of Daphnis and Chloe.* As the warning of the legend might suggest, in the heat of summer the resolution of Daphnis is nearly overborne by natural warmth. In fact, if the work had been merely a story of human love, no other development would have taken place: we have reached the normal consummation of any love story. This particular one is to end in marriage.

(*c*) *Events* (1) iii 25–33. Consequently preparations are begun for the marriage, and suitors come for Chloe's hand. But amongst them Daphnis in his poverty ranks low (25–6). The Nymphs provide the necessary dowry and the betrothal is made: *καὶ ὡς γυναῖκα λοιπὸν μὴ λανθάνων κατεφίλει* (33.1). The public ritual of marriage is something separate from the story of personal love: it calls for a separate season and Book to itself (iv).

Meanwhile, (2) iii 33–4, the climax of the simple love story is marked in a descriptive passage analogous in its function to the three legends. After the betrothal Daphnis and Chloe wander out to look for ripe fruit. A simple golden apple is left on one leafless tree. Chloe tries to prevent Daphnis, but he climbs and fetches it, and running after her as she walks away sulking[68] he lays it in her bosom, to be rewarded by a kiss. Chloe, like Aphrodite, has won the traditional prize from her shepherd (Daphnis alludes expressly to Aphrodite and Paris). She is herself the apple, won by the best picker, as in the Sapphic Epithalamion, which Longos' wording, like his situation, echoes.[69] And the apple, consigned by Daphnis to her keeping, is their love, which *ἔφυσαν ὧραι καλαὶ καὶ φυτὸν καλὸν ἔθρεψε πεπαίνοντος ἡλίου καὶ ἐτήρησε τύχη*[70] (34.1).

Final Autumn, Book iv. But the end of the simple love story is not the end of the book about Eros. The noticeable difference between the atmosphere of Bk. iv and the others is caused by a change of emphasis from the lovers to Love.[71] Autumn, the season of fulfilment, is especially the season of Eros' self-revelation. Therefore, as the first autumn received more than a whole book to itself and included the Epiphany of Eros (ii 4–8), so there is given to the second a whole book concerned with the revealing of Eros as Dionysos. The two lovers and their wedding are at once overshadowed by preparations for the arrival of the lord of the estate. In the love story this arrival is important because his permission is to be the condition of the marriage: in Longos' 'mystery of Eros' the arrival of the lord of the estate is *καθ' ὑπόνοιαν* the arrival of Eros, who gives to the Nymphs final permission for the marriage (iv 34). He is the autumn season of fruition, and the lovers' regularly recorded reactions to the advents of the seasons are in this case reactions to the arrival of this lord. Their embraces are tinged with fear and anxiety *καθάπερ ἤδη παρόντα τὸν δεσπότην φοβουμένων ἢ λανθανόντων* (iv 6, *cf.* the whole description which ends with these words). When he arrives Chloe hides herself in the wood; in his presence Daphnis *εἶπεν*

[67] *λυκοὶ διασπῶσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ῥίπτουσιν ἐς πᾶσαν γῆν ἔτι ᾄδοντα τὰ μέλη* (iii 23), where the pun has significance for the 'mystery'.

[68] *ὠργισμένη*, the first mention of this emotion in their relationship.

[69] *ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀκροῖς* (*<τοῖς> ἀκροῖς* Edmonds) *ἀκρότατον* (33.2). *Cf.* Sappho *fr.* 116 Diels², and Himerius' interpretation *Or.* i 16. The apple is also Chloe in the words *πέσῃ χαμαὶ καὶ ἢ ποίμνιον κ.τ.λ.* (34).

[70] Note in the sentence which follows this Daphnis is impelled to take the apple, *ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων*. Love is first *seen* in the *picture* which this book represents (Pr. 1). Love gives *eyes* to Chloe i 13.1, to Daphnis i 17.1, *cf.* i 24, 32. For the entry of love through the eyes as a literary convention see Wolff 168.

[71] Hence too the virtual abandonment of Longos' regular arrangement. (*a*) There is no sustained *description* of autumn. (*b*) *Reaction of Daphnis and Chloe* see especially iv 6.2, 14.1. (*c*) *Events* make up virtually the whole book, the salient ones being: Lampis' 'rape' of the garden (iv 7), Gnathon's attempt on Daphnis (iv 11), recognition of Daphnis (iv 19), Lampis' attempt on Chloe (iv 28), betrothal and recognition of Chloe (iv 30), marriage (iv 37).

οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἐρυθήματος πλησθεὶς ἔνευσε κάτω προτείνας τὰ δῶρα (14.1);[72] and after the Recognition Daphnis, still shrinking from Eros as he had after Lykainion's instructions, thought fit τὸν γάμον κρύπτειν ἔχειν δὲ κρύφα τὴν Χλόην (30.1). This ὑπόνοια in the figure of the δεσπότης is assisted by the build-up of anticipation and awe which precedes his arrival: a message of warning that he is coming (iv 1), which sets them busy with anxious preparations;[73] a second messenger (iv 5); and the arrival of his son before himself (iv 10). When he does arrive we learn that he is named *Dionysophanes*—'Ορφεὺς δὲ ‹*sc.* φησί› τοὔνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον, says Diodorus.[74] This book, then, provides the identification by Longos, to which I alluded originally, of Eros with the more 'orthodox' mystery god, Dionysos. I noted that in Bk. ii the Epiphany of Eros was properly placed in the season of autumn: it corresponds there with this Epiphany of Eros–Dionysos in the person of Dionysophanes, and in the events of autumn, particularly in the marriage of his chosen representatives. Daphnis, already singled out by Philetas as the representative of the God of Music, is finally recognised as the son of his god-like father;[75] and after the marriage the chief recorded event of his subsequent pastoral life is his founding, in the Nymphs' cave where Chloe was found exposed, of the shrine of the Nymphs, Pan and Eros (iv 39)—which must, of course, be the same shrine where Longos saw the picture of Eros in the Prologue.

Leaving this representation of Eros in the cycle of seasons, analysed into its three component elements, we find that Longos builds another framework, equally representative of Eros, into the one we have just examined—a framework of Initiation.

In the Prologue Longos proposed, in effect, to initiate us into a mystery (Pr. 2); and he does so by representing the progress of Daphnis and Chloe as that of two candidates for initiation. In the story Daphnis and Chloe are absolutely without knowledge of the love which they blindly seek and practise.[76] They are innocent to a degree which by purely realistic standards seems ridiculous. But it is essential that initiates should be absolutely innocent.[77] Salvation in the mysteries was the reward of the purified candidate who enacted the sacred ritual (δρώμενα) and attained knowledge of the sacred λόγος (λεγόμενα)—a distinction which Longos makes with the words ἔργα and ὄνομα.[78] Daphnis and Chloe

[72] Perhaps *cf.* the ritual silence of initiates. (Cumont *AJA* xxxvii 262 who quotes Suidas s.v. στέγανον; Diogenian, iii 43 βάκχης τρόπον ἐπὶ τῶν στεγάνων καὶ σιωπηλῶν · αἱ γὰρ βάκχαι ἐσίγων.)

[73] Particularly over the garden, for the δεσπότης was τῷ παραδείσῳ τερπόμενον (iv 7). *Cf.* ii 6 (Eros speaking) εἰς τὸν σὸν ἔρχομαι κῆπον καὶ τέρπομαι τοῖς ἄνθεσι.

[74] Diod. Sic. i 11.3. No doubt Longos is also thinking, in his choice of name, of the common use of φαίνομαι for the manifestation of a god. For the significance of many of the names in Longos *cf.* p. 102 of the suggestive Appendix to J. Lindsay's translation. Other writers have noted Longos' debt to New Comedy for names and plot. This is true, but not relevant to my present theme.

[75] Who thereby sets him free, just as he does Chloe, Dryas and Nape, Lamon and Myrtale. For *freeing* by Dionysos λύσιος as the culmination of initiation *cf.* Olympiod. ad Pl., Phaedr. 32 Fisch. ὁ Διόνυσος λύσεως ἐστὶν αἴτιος · διὸ καὶ λυσεὺς ὁ θεὸς καὶ 'Ορφεύς φησι . . . οὓς κ' ἐθελήσθη | λύσεις ἔκ τε πόνων χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀπείρονος οἴστρου. (Kern *fr.* 232, q.v. for bibliogr.) See also Rohde *Psyche*[8] 342.

For initiation regarded as *adoption by the divinity cf.* Rohde *Psyche*[8] App. xii 601.

[76] Specifically at i 22 ἤθελόν τι, ἠγνόουν ὅτι θέλουσι.

[77] Hence the common representation of initiates as children, e.g. Cumont *Rel. Or.* 202 fig. 13, pl. 16. So Cupid and Psyche are often represented as children (*cf.* Collignon, *op. cit.* 346). The importance of lustration as a part of ritual purification is a basis for the noticeable part played by bathing in the fountain in Longos, especially i 13, 32 (washing induces love rather than cleanliness); *cf.* also i 22, 24: also in rivers and the sea (i 23, i 30, iii 24). The fountain is peculiarly the gift of Eros (above, p. 36). Sexual abstinence was sometimes forced on an initiate by means of hemlock (*Philosophoumena* p. 170, Cruice) and ritual purity is the reason for Dionysophanes' insistence on Chloe's virginity (iv 31). For virginity in other novels *cf.* Wolff 127 and R. M. Rattenbury *Proc. Leeds Lit. and Phil. Soc.* 1925–1928 58.

[78] Eros as the source of knowledge is familiar (in his own sense) in Plat. *Rep.* vi 485b–e *Symp.* 1786, *Phdr.* 246c–249e. *Cf.* also *A.Pl.* xvi 201 (5–6c. A.D.). Longos refers to love-making as τὸ ἀληθές ii 11; perhaps *cf.* iv 19 ἀληθῆ λόγον, in conjunction with iv 18 ἥκει καιρὸς ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ κρυπτά. *Cf.* the latter with the ritual procedure (Philodemus *Ir.* p. 46 W ἐκκαλύπτειν μυστικοὺς λόγους) discussed by Cumont *Rel. Or.* 202.

were pure but lacked knowledge. They knew neither *τὰ ἔργα Ἔρωτος* nor even his *name*; unlike Daphnis' dangerous rival Dorkon—*Δόρκων εἰδὼς ἔρωτος καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα* (i 15).[79]

Their instruction comes partly from nature, partly from man. How the imitation of nature led them to the practice of love we have already seen. But imitation of nature alone is not enough. Harmony with nature may be the goal for man; but an informed not an unconscious harmony. Children like Daphnis and Chloe are, no doubt, nearer to animals in this respect. They are inhabitants of the Golden Age, as readers of Longos have always been aware. But as they grow up their very innocence becomes the source of their unhappiness. As Lykainion points out,[80] man cannot learn love by imitating goats and sheep, as the innocent Daphnis had thought to do. Therefore man too instructs: and chiefly in the persons of Philetas, who divulges the *name* and nature of Love (ii 7); and of Lykainion, who gives instruction in *τὰ ἔργα* (iii 18–19).[81] That marriage was an initiation and initiations were marriages was a familiar example of the kind of allegory dear to the ancients;[82] and our initiation is fulfilled at last by the marriage of the initiates, which completes the revelation of Lykainion—as Longos shows by recalling her name in the closing words of the work (iv 40).

Such an analysis of the structure of the book, even if it inadequately represents Longos' skill as a writer, may at least help to clear him of the frequently made charge of indulging, sophist-like, in irrelevant *τόποι* purely for their own sake.[83] From the position which it seeks to establish follow certain consequences regarding the *characterisation* of the principal figures, human and divine. To these I now turn.

The type of characterisation employed by Longos is best understood if we take as our starting-point the scheme of initiation just examined. It was the aim of the initiate to identify himself with his god. He enacted the actions of the god, and at the climax of the ceremony was thought of as an incarnation of him.[84] The observation of T. R. Glover that by this stage of ancient thought 'the old myths seemed capable of every conceivable interpretation and *everything a symbol of everything else*'[85] puts the position nicely. Daphnis and

[79] For ignorance of (specifically) *ὄνομα* and *ἔργα ἔρωτος* by Daphnis and Chloe see i 13.3, 15.1,4, 18.3–19.1, ii 8.1, iii 14. *Cf.* also i 22 *ἀπειρία ἐρωτικῶν*, ii 8 *ἐρῶμεν οὐκ εἰδότες*, ii 11 *εἰδότες οὐδέν*, iii 14 *οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενος*. The convention of ignorance is extended to their parents (i 8.2) and to Philetas (ii 4—before his enlightenment).

[80] iii 17.1. *Cf.* iii 14, where Chloe too points out that men differ from goats and sheep.

[81] (*a*) The *idea of instruction* (introduced in Prologue, 2, *παιδεύσει*) is especially prominent in the use of *παιδεύω* and *διδάσκω* in connexion with:

Philetas ii 8.1 *παιδεύσας*; iii 14.1 *παιδεύμασι*.

Lykainion iii 17 *διδασκαμένην τὰ ἔρωτος ἔργα . . . μαθητὴν . . . διδάξω*, iii 18.1 *διδάξαι . . . διδάσκεσθαι . . . παιδεύειν* iii 19.1 *παιδαγωγία . . . ἐπαίδευσε φύσις* completes Lykainion's instruction *ἐπαίδευσε* iii 18. *Cf.* i 9.1 *παιδευτήριον* (in dreams).

Previously Chloe was *ἀδίδακτον* (i 17). *Cf.* also the end of this paper.

(*b*) The *παιδεύματα* listed by Philetas at ii 7 (*φίλημα καὶ περιβολὴ καὶ συγκατακλιθῆναι γυμνοῖς σώμασι*) form the *pattern of instruction* followed by Daphnis and Chloe (ii 8, 9, 10, 11, iii 14) and it is their failure to interpret it which Lykainion assists.

[82] *Cf.* Pollux *On.* iii 38 *καὶ τέλος ὁ γάμος ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τέλειοι οἱ γεγαμηκότες διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἥρα τέλεια ἡ ζυγία*. Also Firmicus *Mat. de Ev. Pr. Relig.* 38c: Neque verba solum sed etiam ritus nuptialis sacris mysticis intercurrisse indicio est solemnis gratulatio qua mystae recens initiatos sponsarum nomine consalutabant. *χαῖρε νύμφιε, χαῖρε νέον φῶς*. *Cf.* M. Bieber *Hesp.* Suppl. viii 31 (Eros and Dionysos on fourth-century (Wedding) Vases). J. C. M. Toynbee *JRS* xix (1929) 67 (on Marriage-initiation murals of Villa Item).

[83] For such objections see nn. 7, 110.

[84] See Harrison 475 (who connects the belief specifically with the pantomimic character of ancient ritual) and her discussion (479 ff.) of Eur. *fr.* 475 (*καὶ κουρήτων βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθείς*). *Cf.* also Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 408. *βάκχον δ'οὐ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκάλουν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς τελοῦντας τὰ ὄργια βάκχους ἐκάλουν*. On the status of *βάκχος* see Cumont *AJA* xxxvii 258.

[85] T. R. Glover 111 (my italics). The same opinion—Harrison 625: 'We feel that everyone is changing into everyone else.' The baffling result could be fruitful in the hands of a sufficiently clear-headed writer, as Longos shows.

Chloe are initiates, and if we treat them as mere individuals in a simple historical narrative their characterisation will seem weak to the point of absurdity. But we are not to judge them by Aristotelian canons of *ἦθος*.[86] When Rohde complains that 'we can look for no deeper psychological development of their passion' (*Gr. Rom.*[2] 549) he reveals that he is looking for character studies of Daphnis and Chloe. But it is in the study of Eros that we find depth in Longos. Again, Wolff (137) remarks that 'plot is more important than character in Longos'; Castiglioni (203) that Longos has 'un carattere decisamente psicologico rispetto al quale gli eventi hanno un valore affatto secondario'. These partial truths can be reconciled only if we recognise characters and events as equally expressions of the nature of Eros. Daphnis and Chloe are archetypes. What they do (and we shall find it with other characters in Longos), they do because they are playing a divine role—as was Dionysophanes in Bk. iv.

The function of Chloe as a character is precisely defined in the vision of Bryaxis: she is *παρθένον ἐξ ἧς Ἔρως μῦθον ποιῆσαι θέλει* (ii 27.1).[87] She is a character with an ulterior significance in the same way as Phassa, Syrinx and Echo are significant in their *μῦθοι*.[88] Daphnis we have already observed in one divine role: throughout the book he acts the part of Pan the musical shepherd.[89] Consequently Chloe is represented as Syrinx and as Echo.[90] But the shepherd Pan is only a 'function' of Eros; and accordingly the shepherd Daphnis is also directly equated with Eros himself. After his marriage Daphnis honours the god under the title of *Ποιμὴν Ἔρως*.[91] When he appears to Philetas Eros says *Δάφνιν ποιμαίνω καὶ Χλόην* (ii 5); and Philetas in his 'sermon' likens the authority of this god to that of Daphnis over his flocks (ii 7.). In the second spring the lovers outstrip the other shepherds in driving out to pasture *οἷα μείζονι δουλεύοντες ποιμένι* (iii 12); and in the 'Apple' passage (iii 33) Longos characteristically leaves us hovering between Eros and Daphnis in the words *ἐφυλάττετο καλὸν μῆλον ἐρωτικῷ ποιμένι*.[92]

Daphnis also enacts the part of Dionysos, and Dionysos, who is himself equivalent to Eros, calls for closer study. Dionysos is especially associated with autumn, the season of fruition and revelation, whose importance causes Longos to devote to it more than half his work. To represent the meaning of autumn Longos uses many related themes of which

[86] Arist. *Po.* 1450b8 *ἔστιν δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁποῖά τις ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον ἢ προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει.*

By this criterion too much of Daphnis' action consists of bewailing his misfortunes in tears (e.g. i 12, ii 21, 23, iii 14, iii 26.1, iv 28) instead of choosing or avoiding anything (as Longos humorously hints iii 27.1).

[87] *Cf.* ii 6 *Ἐρωτι κατέσπεισθε.*

[88] The legends of *Φάττα*, *Σύριγξ* and *Ἦχω* are introduced as *μῦθοι* (i 27.1, ii 33, iii 22). When on the other hand Philetas saw Eros face to face and gave a *direct* explanation of his name and nature, Longos invites us to smile at Daphnis and Chloe because *πάνυ ἐτέρφθησαν ὥσπερ μῦθον οὐ λόγον ἀκούοντες* (ii 7.1).

[89] *Cf.* the discussion of *Music*, pp. 37f. Also i 16.2 and iv 4 (Daphnis compared to Pan): i 32, ii 29 (behaviour of Daphnis' flocks as though before Pan): ii 37 (Daphnis mimes Pan).

[90] i 14, Chloe wishes to be *Syrinx*; ii 37 mimes *Syrinx*; iii 11.1 Chloe compared to *Echo*; iii 23 *Echo* legend; Chloe also compared to *Nymphs* (i 24.1) and *Bacchae* (i 15, 23, ii 2).

[91] *βωμὸν εἵσαντο Ποιμένος Ἔρωτος* (iv 39). For Eros as shepherd cf. *A.Pl.* vii 703 (1c A.D.), Nonnus *Dionysiaca* i 79. Longos' thought may have been assisted by the metaphorical use of *ποιμαίνειν* occurring at: Theocr. xi 80 (*Πολύφαμος ἐποίμαινεν τὸν ἔρωτα*: *cf.* 65): *A.Pl.* xii 99 (*Πῦρ* [sc. *Ἔρωτος*] *ποιμαίνειν θερμὸν ὑπὸ κραδίας*): Orph. *fr.* 82 (Kern) (*ποιμαίνων πραπίδεσσιν ἀνόμματον ὠκὺν Ἔρωτα* [sc. *ὁ δημιουργός*]). The idea of God and King as Shepherd goes back to Homer's *ποιμὴν λαῶν*, but in Longos' age had already received the mystic implication which it retained in Christian tradition.

[92] Other expressions implying the identification of Daphnis and Chloe with the Year god are: i 18 *Δάφνις μαραίνεται* (compared with violets and hyacinths): i 17 he is *χλωρότερον πόας θερινῆς* (*A*[1] so corrects *A* *καιρινῆς*)—*cf.* the similar description of Dorkon quoted in n. 102: Daphnis' life is endangered in the first autumn (i 28 ff.) and again in the second (iii 26.1, late summer; iv 8–9, 22, autumn). Chloe, a cult title of Demeter (*LSJ* s.v. *Χλόη* II) lit. means 'the first green shoot of plants in spring'.

Dionysos is the chief. Dionysos is a violent god. For all his superficial γλυκύτης Longos does not shrink from recognising as fundamental in life, and in Eros, the elements of violence, pain and contradiction. The fruition of the year is the death of summer: harvest the despoiling of the fruit.[93] The scenes depicted on the temple of Dionysos in Daphnis' garden were scenes of violence and rape:[94] the events in the last Book, pre-eminently the book of Dionysos, are events of rape, and apprehensiveness on the part of Daphnis and Chloe.[95] Initiation, marriage, is their goal; but it is also an ordeal and a sadness. It ends for ever the Golden Age of innocence. Already in the first autumn Daphnis and Chloe, helping at the vintage, became sensible of the λύπη Ἔρωτος[96] and gladly left the ἄμουσος βοή of Dionysos (ii 2.2) for the music of the pastoral Eros (ii 3). Next summer, from the time of Lykainion's revelation of τὰ ἔργα Ἔρωτος Daphnis was instinctively reluctant to face the ordeal; as Chloe was reluctant for him to pick the apple (iii 34), and as, throughout the last book, both lovers shrink in apprehension at the approach of their lord—δεσπότην οὗ πρότερον μόνον ἤκουε τὸ ὄνομα (iv 6).

Other contexts and other themes represent this aspect of Eros. Rape is not confined to the last book but begins in the first spring with the beginning of ἔρως. Then, Dorkon attempts Chloe (i 20 ff.), as does Lampis in the final autumn (iv 27). Daphnis is not literally assaulted, until Lykainion insists ὅτι σε ἐγὼ ἄνδρα πρὸ τῆς Χλόης πεποίηκα (iii 19); and Gnathon makes his less successful attempt (iv 11–12): but indirectly the autumn assaults of the pirates are the assaults of love, as we have observed. In the case of Daphnis (i 29), Longos connects the episode with Dionysos in a characteristically allusive manner. The Homeric Hymn to Dionysos (the story of which is mentioned at iv 3.2) is here suggested in a situation where Daphnis μειράκιον μέγα καὶ καλὸν καὶ κρεῖττον τῆς ἐξ ἀγρῶν ἁρπαγῆς . . . ἀλύοντα παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν is carried off by Τύρριοι λῃσταί—to their own discomfiture.[97] So too we should perhaps account for the miraculous saving of Daphnis on the backs of the cattle. Longos records the rather absurd episode with less wit than we should have liked for our peace of mind.[98] But perhaps he intended that the affair should be helped out by the suggestion that Daphnis, cattle-borne, coming from the sea, was playing the part of Dionysos now, as when he was carried off.[99]

In this context of autumn's despoiling of summer we should probably also interpret the trampling of the garden by Lampis (iv 7) who is also Chloe's would-be ravisher (iv 28). Its elaborate description and prominent position at the beginning of Book iv are deceptive as far as the plot goes. As an episode it peters out in a parenthesis (iv 13). Longos has been less skilful than usual at integrating the two levels of his story, and the only motive left is for the trampling of the garden, sacred to Dionysos, to suggest the Dionysiac character of the book which follows. The garden (whose Erotic importance we have seen) suffers,

[93] *Cf.* the common equation of marriage and its consummation with death.

[94] iv 3.2 Σεμέλην τίκτουσαν Ἀριάδνην καθεύδουσαν, Λυκοῦργον δεδεμένον, Πενθέα διαιρούμενον . . . Ἴνδοι νικώμενοι καὶ Τύρρηνοι μεταμορφώμενοι. Wolff (168) misses the point when he accuses Longos of 'inserting into his description of the garden . . . an irrelevant list of the paintings or sculptures in the temple of Bacchus'.

[95] *Cf.* the list in n. 71.

[96] ii 2.1 Χλόην ἐλύπησεν . . . Δάφνις δ' ἐλυπεῖτο. *Cf.* i 22 and for formal descriptions i 14 (Chloe), i 18, 32 (Daphnis), Philetas is affected ii 7–8. Note in this context that Pan is ἐρωτικὸς καὶ ἄπιστος (ii 38).

[97] Hym. Hom. vii 1–12. The miraculous vine (line 38) is perhaps echoed in the corresponding episode of the capture of Chloe (ii 26.1).

[98] The 'element of self-mockery' which Turner invokes (quite rightly seeing the need to save the absurdity here) does not seem to me quite strong enough alone. Why did Longos choose such a method of saving Daphnis? He could have swum ashore.

[99] For Dionysos coming from the sea as a bull and on bull-back *cf.* Elean hymn to Dionysos Diels[2] *Carm. Pop.* 46. Harrison 432–7. Rohde *Psyche* 272 n. 35 to ch. viii. For Dionysos coming in a wagon (*cf.* Longos i 30. ὥσπερ ἐλαύνων ἅμαξαν) M. Bieber *Gk. and R. Theater* 96–7, figs. 139–42. Cattle do not often occur in Longos: it may therefore be significant that Philetas, Dorkon and Lampis are βούκολοι. βούκολος was a title in the Dionysiac hierarchy (Cumont *AJA* xxxvii 247).

and for that Daphnis, dreading his master's arrival, fears death.[100] But Daphnis gets married; only the garden is trampled.[101]

The equivalent in the first autumn is the pirate raid, when Daphnis was preserved for Eros, and Dorkon was killed instead.[102] The assaults of pirates are a hazard of the shepherd's life (ii 32): but since Love is a shepherd, pirate-raids are included in the picture which is also allegorical of Eros (Pr. 1)—the warlike Eros who plays his part in the person of *Πὰν Στρατιώτης*.[103] The paradox which arises here is common to the whole pantheistic way of thought which Longos assumes. Eros, Dionysos, Daphnis or whoever is the god's expression for the moment is both aggressor and sufferer, pirate and shepherd, trampler and garden; and Longos is evidently glad to assume in the reader and use for his own purposes the ability of his age at once to reconcile opposites in one symbolic figure and still to remain aware of their opposition.

Another hazard is mentioned almost in the same breath with that of piracy—the raiding *wolf* (ii 32). That Eros should be wolf as well as shepherd is again only another way of saying that he acts through the violent Dionysos as well as through those maternal protectors, the Nymphs. It was by adapting to his own ends a trap designed to catch a raiding she-wolf that Eros brought about *ἔρωτος ἀρχήν* (i 11–13). It was by means of the important part played by Lykainion, of the significance of whose name Longos was well aware,[104] that Eros helped to bring about the final revelation. At an earlier stage this function of Lykainion is paralleled by that of Dorkon; and he dressed as a wolf to make his attempt on Chloe (i 20).[105] Further the wolf is like the pirates, like Dionysos, like Pan; a hunter.[106] And *hunting* is itself treated as one of this complex of autumnal themes. We have noticed it already in the Bird-catching scene (iii 5 ff.). It was the autumn hunting-expedition of the Methymnean nobles which gave rise to the carrying off of Chloe (ii 12.2). So Astylos, precursor of Dionysophanes, also hunts the hare (iv 11.1). And although

[100] iv 8.1 (*πτοούμενοι τὸν δεσπότην*) and 8.–9.1, on which see Dalmeyda 286 on *κρεμᾷ, κρεμήσεται*. Daphnis is intimately associated with this garden and with Eros as having found the spring in it, which waters its plants, iv 4.1.

[101] If Valley (chap. vi) is right in suggesting that the description of the trampled garden (iv 7–8) draws on Sappho *fr.* 117, we may suppose that Longos used Sappho's words here to refer, as in their original context, to the trampling of virginity. *Cf.* his use of Sappho *fr.* 116 in iii 33 discussed above.

[102] Dorkon is in effect a scapegoat, like the garden. The pirates *κατέκοψαν ὡς βοῦν* (i 29): *cf.* his own words *<εἰμι> πυρρὸς ὡς θέρος μέλλον ἀμᾶσθαι* (i 16.1) with the descriptions of Daphnis quoted in n. 92. Valley (p. 86) points out that this passage is modelled on Theocr. vi 2: it is the more significant that the words *ὡς θέρος μέλλον ἀμᾶσθαι* are Longos' own addition. So are the words *λευκὸς ὡς ἐξ ἄστεος γυνή* (applied to him by Daphnis 16.2), for whose significance see below n. 105.

[103] iv 39, altar dedicated to Pan Stratiotes. *Cf.* ii 23 *συνηθὴς γὰρ στρατοπέδοις*. Pan was associated with war from Marathon on (Hdt. vi 105), but I have not found any other case of this as a cult title. For Pan as *στρατηγὸς Διονύσου*, the role of Warrior developing from that of Hunter, see Wernicke in Roscher s.v. 'Pan' 1388.

[104] *LSJ* s.v. *λύκαινα, -ιον*. *Cf.* Latin *lupa* (Lewis and Short s.v. II). Probably Longos is conscious of this innuendo at ii 39 (Chloe's speech). Double meanings as characteristic of Longos' irony are discussed below, p. 49. Obvious puns occur at ii 15 *αἶγας*, iii 6 *ὄρνισιν αἰσίοις*, iii 23 *μέλη*, iv 12 *χειραγωγία*.

[105] Dorkon's attempt and kiss and Lykainion's instruction are similar (*a*) *in description*: setting and subterfuges of both are similar (wolves hiding in thickets): both are experienced in *ἐρωτικῇ τέχνῃ*, both prosperous and ply their innocent victims with gifts: note i 16.2 (*Δόρκων*) *λευκὸς ὡς ἐξ ἄστεος γυνή*: iii 15 (*Λυκαίνιον*) *γύναιον ἐπακτὸν ἐξ ἄστεος*: *cf.* n. 102; (*b*) *in function*. The two episodes are moments at which love is revealed as a universal not a purely private experience (the different degrees of revelation being due to merely practical necessity). The lovers' reactions (these are the only two experiences which they consciously conceal from each other) are part of their ultimate hesitation to leave their private Golden Age and face marriage. The language suggests that a parallel is to be drawn also between the *wound* which fatally shed the blood of Dorkon (i 29) and that described at length in connexion with Lykainion (iii 19–20).

[106] *Pan* is a hunter regularly from Hym. Hom. xix 13 on, e.g. especially *A.Pl.* vi 11–16, 106, 107, 109. *Dionysos* is hunter and hunted (as Zagreus, Rohde *Psyche* 352 n. 27, 353 n. 35 to ch. x). *Cf.* R. P. Winnington-Ingram *Euripides and Dionysus*, ch. x, 'The hunt'.

hunting is not listed as part of the original picture of Eros in the Prologue, it was when hunting in Lesbos that Longos originally came upon the picture, in the grove of the Nymphs.[107]

Those who have followed my interpretation so far may well be asking what has become of Longos' *κτῆμα τερπνόν*? The tendency to see vegetation gods lurking in every work of classical literature is rightly regarded with suspicion. The drama of Sophokles and that of Karkinos were alike based on vegetation rituals, but one was good art, the other frigid. The brief answer to this objection would be that Sophokles might have been a little surprised to be told that Oidipous was *really* a vegetation god: but the point about Longos is that he would not have been surprised; in fact it is he who tells us at some length that this is what his hero is.[108]

But still it would not follow from this alone that Longos' work is a *κτῆμα τερπνόν*. To show how this follows it will be necessary to demonstrate an integral relationship between the generally admitted 'charm' and the 'serious import' for which I have been arguing. Now it may, I hope, already have emerged even in a cold-blooded analysis that Longos' own allusive handling of the themes and patterns provided by his religious subject is characteristic of the poet rather than of the ponderous mythographer. In short, the work is not a *κτῆμα τερπνόν in spite of* being an *ἀνάθημα* (indeed if we isolate the pastoral lovers they are charming, but trivial): but if we appreciate the constant play between the story of the lovers and the patterns dictated by the theme of Eros, the charm remains, but it is deepened. We have an *ἀνάθημα* which is also itself *τερπνόν*.

This emerges most clearly if we consider Longos' management of the pastoral mode in which he presents his work. Pastoral is a particularly clear example of a common principle —that according to which the ideal world which it is the compulsion of the artist to express is embodied in some place, time or society other than that of the writer himself. The ideal world may be shown as perfect country, as rich palace, honest poverty, the age of childhood, youth, love, or the remote past. All of these ideals, as well as the pastoral, are used by Longos.[109] But Longos was a sophisticated and intelligent man, and the more intelligent the writer of pastoral the more consciously will he express the relationship between his ideal world and reality. For him the world of the Town is a necessary and relevant complement to the Pastoral world; which, indeed, only acquires its significance in so far as it is contrasted with the harassed life of the city-dweller.

It is necessary to emphasise that Longos controls both of his two worlds in this way, because on just this score he has been attacked by Rohde for lack of unity. Rohde praises Longos' descriptions of the country, but holds that they are isolated by the love scenes (which shock him) and by the 'intrusions' of the outside world, whose only *raison d'être* is,

[107] *ἐν Λέσβῳ θηρῶν* (opening words of Pr.). Why *Lesbian* Pastorals? I hope my interpretation may suggest a new line of approach to the vexed question of Longos' identity. The head of Orpheus was washed to Lesbos where it gave oracles. Later it became part of a shrine of Dionysos (Phil. *Her.* v 3, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* iv 14, Lucian *adv. indoct.* 11). *Cf.* Kern *Orphic. Fr. testim.* 118, 130, 134, with 77 l. 18. Lesbos was the home of the old-established cult of Dionysos Brisaeos, and of the family of Dionysiac priests, from whom was descended Pompeia Agrippinilla, Bacchic priestess of the Torre Nova inscription (Cumont *AJA* xxxvii 232).

[108] My interpretation makes Longos a successor to the tradition of the Virgilian Pastoral with an ulterior allusion, carried on by Calpurnius, Nemesianus and the Einsiedeln Eclogues. Apuleius provides a parallel for the love story with a religious *ὑπόνοια*.

[109] Schissel (*RE* s.v. 'Longos') notes that the age of the independent *πόλις* is implied in Longos (as in some other novelists). For the pastoral ideal in cxiv–xv *cf.* J. Huizinga *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Penguin ed.) 38–9, 130–9. For cxvi–xviii *cf.* W. Empson *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935). The idealisation of childhood has been a more popular form of pastoral than that of the shepherd's life since Wordsworth and Blake, *cf.* especially Lewis Carroll, J. M. Barrie, A. A. Milne. E. Lewis *Dew on the Grass* provides a pastoral of childhood within a framework of seasons. There, as in Milne, the final 'initiation' consists in leaving home for school.

in his view, to prolong the love story by hindering its consummation.[110] But this modification of his general theory of the structure of Greek novels will not work for Longos, who does not use the Town merely as a hindrance. On the contrary, most of the decisive actions in the story of the lovers occur at precisely the point where their world and the outside world impinge upon each other. Daphnis and Chloe are the children of city-dwellers, exposed and brought up in the country. We have seen the importance of Dorkon, Philetas, the pirates and raiders from Methymna, and of Lykainion (*γύναιον ἐπακτὸν ἐξ ἄστεος . . . ἀγροικίας ἁβρότερον* iii 15.1). The mutual interpenetration of Town and Country in the last Book is complete: town-dwellers come to celebrate the vintage in the country; adopt Daphnis and Chloe, who renounce their former country life as herds and go to stay in the town; but are married in the country and subsequently live there.

In this balancing of Town against Country, a tension is set up, in Longos as in all pastoral, between real and ideal, which gives rise to a legitimate irony.[111] The pastoral writer tells us that certain simple people are better than ourselves: yet at the same time he smiles with us at their simplicity. We must not sentimentally imagine that Longos did not feel sympathy for the town-dwellers *ἐπεὶ ἅλις ἦν τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἑορτῶν* (iv 33): or that he did not regard the wedding-feast, and Daphnis' behaviour towards his guests, the goats, as ludicrous and uncouth (iv 33). It is this sophisticated irony which saves Longos from the insipidity of countless later pastorals. It also saves him from the tedium which the ponderous mumbo-jumbo of his Erotic mystery might easily have induced: when he is at his most serious he is simultaneously at his most cynically witty.[112] Thus Chloe is first led to realise the beauty of Daphnis, when he washes in the spring and *τὸ λουτρὸν ἐνόμιζε τοῦ κάλλους αἴτιον* (i 13).

[110] Rohde *Gr. Rom.*[2] 549. (I have not had access to a later edition than that of 1900 (Leipzig) to which I refer.) Rohde's interpretation of Longos has not been challenged as a whole. He is followed by, e.g., Wolff, 124; Castiglioni, 204; Turner, 11. His position may be summarised as follows:

(1) His general theory of the Greek novel is that of a synthesis of love story with adventure story (ii 1: this is no longer tenable; see especially W. Schmid, *Neue Jahrb. für das Klass. Alt.* 1904, 465).

(2) In Longos' case (531 ff.) the synthesis is of love story with pastoral (537, 543).

(3) But pastoral is intrinsically without history, timeless (547).

(4) To supply a basis for the *story* the 'Town' and adventures from the outside world are therefore imported (548). They are thus a frigid intrusion, no integration being possible, by definition, between the two elements.

The view of Pastoral which I suggest differs *in toto* from Rohde's at (3). Rohde's distinction of idyll, romance, drama and epic seems too brash. We might as well argue that it is impossible to integrate choral lyric with dramatic episodes. But in any case his argument fails if we do not assume initially the mechanical conflation of Pastoral plus Love story/Town plus Adventures. Rohde's great skill in dissecting Longos' origins and sources has left him with a corpse. But such dissection should follow, not initiate, interpretation. First we should look for the single conception from which Longos starts (in the Prologue). This is Eros, i.e. a *total* conception of Nature with Man/Town with Country, including violence as well as prettiness, evil as well as good. See further on Rohde's view at n. 117.

[111] Not, as Rohde (pp. 549–50) accuses Longos, to a gratuitous and detestable sophistry. That the subject of the irony is frequently love is prescribed by the subject-matter. So Wolff recognises the play between sophistication and innocence but regards it merely as a salacious game (130–1): again he correctly recognises the 'envelopment' of the Country by the Town (122–3) but writes 'In Longos there is very little irony: in fact very little place for it' (215).

[112] Longos laughs at the conventions of his own love story, especially iii 17 (Lykainion's cynicism about dreams from Nymphs); iii 27 (Daphnis, in trouble, *τὸ συνηθὲς ἐρασταῖς . . . ἐδάκρυε*); iv 13 (Gnathon's *λόγον καὶ ἐρωτικὸν καὶ μακρόν*—Longos is drawing near the end of his own *λόγος ἐρωτικός*). Turner (11) draws attention to other examples and to the commencement of this 'self-mockery' in the prologue, with Longos' prayer for *σωφροσύνη*. And Longos is not only mocking himself, but the ideal of *σωφροσύνη* which is a leading motif in the Greek novel (Rattenbury *Proc. Leeds Phil. Soc.* 1925–1928, 59). But the prayer is simultaneously serious. In the same spirit Lykainion offers Daphnis *σωτηρία* (iii 15 *cf.* iii 17 *σῶσαι*). *Cf.* Hadrian's invocation at Thespiae of *Ἔρως σαόφρων* (G. Kaibel *Ep. Gr.* 811) Kaibel's sceptical comment on the adjective is unjustified. As Euripides' choruses knew (*Med.* 627–34, *IA* 543–57), there are two kinds of Eros. Longos' *τελετή* is to help us to the beneficent Eros. Perhaps one might note that Daphnis' original nurse was called Sophrone (Courier, *MSS. Σωφροσύνην*).

Next day she sees him playing his syrinx *καὶ αὖθις αἰτίαν ἐνόμιζε τὴν μουσικὴν τοῦ κάλλους*: and she takes the pipe in hopes that she may herself become beautiful. We are invited to smile at her simple confusion of *post hoc* and *propter hoc*: and at the same time her simplicity is right. The true cause, Eros, *is* the spring and he *is* the music—'And he is oft the wisest man who is not wise at all'.[113] So also in the accounts of the exposure of the two babies (i 2–6) we are to laugh at the mercenary instincts of Lamon, the credulity of Nape who thought a goat had born a boy, and their simplicity at learning charity from sheep and goats: but sheep and goats—as the story makes clear—are the natural ministers of *ποιμὴν Ἔρως*.[114] This attitude of Longos makes it possible for us to accept the (literally) absurd ignorance about Eros on the part of the lovers and their parents (*cf.* n. 79); and all the foolish innocences of Daphnis and Chloe which Longos announces with variations on the formula *οἷα νέος καὶ ἀγροικὸς καὶ ἀγνοῶν*.[115] Longos, like Aristophanes[116] or, to come nearer his own times, like Apuleius, though with greater detachment than Apuleius, has the ability to laugh at what he has used his most poetical language to describe, without destroying it. So Daphnis and Chloe, solemnly instructed by Philetas that they must, according to the mystery, *κεῖσθαι γυμνούς χαμαί* staunchly remark—it is autumn—*κρύος μέν, ἀλλὰ καρτερήσομεν δεύτεροι μετὰ Φιλητᾶν* (ii 8). Longos knows that Eros is a noble mystery: but he does not pretend that for human beings he does not also bring sensuous pleasure. Hence the swift play between mystery and delight, Town and Country, innocence and sophistication, so infuriating to Rohde.

From this it follows that in Longos the Town as well as the Country plays a part in representing the Good Life.[117] The true goal for Longos' initiates is harmony with nature,[118] and it might be thought that this is to be found exclusively in the Country. Eros himself and the principal 'good' characters are shepherds and country-dwellers. Typically 'bad' characters, on the other hand, are the rich young city-dwellers from Methymna, the soldiers they send, or the lecherous Gnathon. But this view is an over-simplification for the whole work and an impossibility for Book iv where Town and Country are equally recommended and reconciled in a rite satisfactory to the claims of both nature and human society, the rite of marriage. Evil may be found in the Town, the specifically human world: but this human world is not exclusively evil; harmony with nature is attainable by man too. But (as was said) an informed harmony, which cannot be found exclusively in the Golden World of Daphnis' and Chloe's childhood. They needed the instruction of those who 'know'. Here Longos' use of the words *τέχνη, σοφίζειν* and their derivatives is informative. Art or artifice, broadly expressed by this group of words, is the contribution of the Town to the mystery of Eros. There is truth in the mockery, as usual, when Astylos

[113] Note the statement which follows immediately (i 13.3) that Eros is the true cause. Daphnis' perplexity after the kiss (i 18) is the equivalent to Chloe's here.

[114] *Cf.* ii 39.3 *νομίζουσα τὰς αἶγας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ποιμένων καὶ αἰπόλων ἰδίους θεούς.*

[115] E.g. i 13, 1 15, i 32, ii 39 (twice), iii 18. Note that the convention of Daphnis' innocence is abruptly dropped at iv 28.

[116] E.g. *Ran.* 391 *καὶ πολλὰ μὲν γελοῖά μ'εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ οπουδαῖα κ.τ.λ.*

[117] I here oppose the view of Rohde which is a corollary to his position stated in n. 110. As Rohde separates the Pastoral element from the rest of the story, he believes that Longos is advocating an *escape* from the 'world' into a kindly 'nature' (*Gr. Rom.*[2] 545). If the need for producing some story had not prevented him Longos would, he thinks, have liked to represent the Golden Age exclusively: as it is he paints a nature exclusively pretty; man childish in character; the gods only benevolent. There are obvious and fatal exceptions to all three statements, for reasons which I have tried to show. Rohde's earlier remarks on the attitude to nature of the Greeks in general (544—not dealing specifically with Longos) would be more consistent with the juster conclusion that the harmony with nature aimed at is *fusion* of self rather than *loss* of self. For Longos man is certainly part of nature: the issue is 'a rebellious or harmonious part?' In either case nature is greater than man, not merely pretty (Eros is an object of awe for Philetas (ii 7); Pan of terror to the soldiers (ii 25 ff.)).

[118] *Cf.* on *φύσις* n. 81. Also iii 18.4 *ἡ φύσις ἐπαίδευσε*, iv 23 *οὕτω φύσις ταχέως πιστεύεται.*

says to Gnathon *ὡς μεγάλους ὁ Ἔρως ποιεῖ σοφιστάς*.[119] So *τέχνη περιττή* is remarked in the prologue as an attribute of the picture of Eros (Pr. 1). It is *τέχνη* which Daphnis and Chloe lack, and Philetas and Lykainion offer to provide.[120] The garden, proper dwelling-place of Eros, exhibits the perfect union of nature and art.[121] From the garden could be seen the open country and the sea with shepherds and sailors (iv 3.1). In the garden *τέτμητο καὶ διακέκριτο πάντα. . . ἐν μετεώρῳ δὲ οἱ κλάδοι συνέπιπτον . . . ἐδόκει μέντοι καὶ ἡ τούτων φύσις εἶναι τέχνης* (iv 2.2). And Longos gives us an epitome of the whole work when he opens his first Book with a description of Mitylene and the surrounding country—a city set in country by the sea, admitting the water into its precincts and adorning its waterways with architectural skill—*διείληπται γὰρ εὐρίποις ἐπεισρεούσης τῆς θαλάττης καὶ κεκόσμηται γεφύραις ξεστοῦ καὶ λευκοῦ λίθου* (i 1).

This mutual interpenetration of Country and Town, in their broadest sense, means that Longos is not, therefore, merely indulging in empty rhetorical paradox for its own sake, when he relies on the sophistication of his reader to form a just assessment of his praises of the unsophisticated countryman. He is giving an artistic unity to a single, though complex, concept, the nature of Eros; and can reasonably claim that in consequence his work becomes *ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἔρωτι . . . κτῆμα δὲ τερπνὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις*.

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[119] So too it is Chloe's *ἔπαινος* of Daphnis which is *ἔρωτος ἀρχή* (i 13.2). *Gnathon* is not, like Daphnis, a perfect embodiment of Eros. But as one of the creations of Eros he necessarily (but imperfectly, as we can see from the lack of success which Longos arranges for him) represents him. Hence he plans *λόγον καὶ ἐρωτικὸν καὶ μακρόν* (iv 13); he is *πᾶσαν ἐρωτικὴν μυθολογίαν πεπαιδευμένος*—but *ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀσώτων συμποσίοις* (iv 17). He represents, in fact, what Eros becomes in the man whose initiation is perverted by coming exclusively from the Town and not at all from the Country.

[120] Chloe's first kiss is *ἀδίδακτον καὶ ἄτεχνον* (i 17); Daphnis and Chloe, separated in winter, *τέχνην ἐζήτουν δι' ἧς ἀλλήλους θεάσονται . . . καὶ τοιόνδε σόφισμα εὗρεν* (sc. *Δάφνις*) (iii 4); the meetings are repeated *ἐπ' ἄλλαις τέχναις* (iii 11). Lykainion *ἐπιτεχνᾶταί τι τοιόνδε* (iii 15) *cf.* iii 18.1 *διδάξαι τὴν τέχνην* 18.2 *ὑποστορέσασα ἐντεχνῶς*. Daphnis asks Philetas *μεταδοῦναι τῆς τέχνης* (ii 33.1). Also (i 11) note the unusual phrase *γῆς σεσοφισμένης* in connexion with the wolf-trap. *Cf.* n. 81 on *παιδεύω, διδάσκω*.

[121] *Cf.* Rohde's summary of the significance in philosophy and art of the garden as the proper setting for man's communion with nature (*Gr. Rom.*[2] 537 ff.).